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PAGE 01 PARIS 24435 01 OF 03 041237Z
ACTION EUR-01

INFO	LOG-00	AF-01	AID-01	AMAD-01	CIAE-00	C-01	DODE-00
	HA-09	H-01	INRE-00	INR-01	L-03	ADS-00	NSAE-00
	NSCE-00	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-01	PRS-01	P-01	SCT-03
	SNP-01	SP-01	SSO-00	SS-01	TRSE-00	T-01	USIE-00

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FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2151
INFO AMEMBASSY KIGALI IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY DAKAR
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 PARIS 24435

LONDON FOR MCKINLEY

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, RW, FR,
SUBJECT: DISCUSSIONS WITH THE QUAI AND THE RPF ON THE
- ARUSHA III TALKS, SEPTEMBER 3

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PAGE 02 PARIS 24435 01 OF 03 041237Z
REF: A) STATE 284576 B) PERLOW-PRINGLE TELECON, 9-2

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. BEGIN SUMMARY: DAVID RAWSON, U.S. OBSERVER TO THE
ARUSHA TALKS, MET WITH CATHERINE BOIVINEAU, THE QUAI'S
DIRECTOR FOR EAST AND CENTRAL AFRICA ON SEPTEMBER 3 TO
BRIEF HER ON THE GENERAL PRINCIPLES (REF A) THAT WILL
SERVE AS A POINT OF DEPARTURE FOR THE U.S. IN THE
UPCOMING ROUND OF TALKS. THAT EVENING RAWSON MET WITH
A RPF DELEGATION HEADED BY CHAIRMAN KANYARENGWE AND

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WENT OVER THE U.S. IDEAS. BOTH THE QUAI AND THE RPF WERE POSITIVE ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF EXPANDING THE ROLE OF THE JOINT POLITICAL MILITARY COMMITTEE (JPMC) TO INCLUDE OVERSIGHT OF THE TRANSITIONAL PROCESS, INCLUDING SOME POLITICAL FUNCTIONS. END SUMMARY.

PRESENTING THE U.S. IDEAS

3. U.S. OBSERVER TO THE ARUSHA TALKS, DAVID RAWSON, STOPPED IN PARIS ON SEPTEMBER 3 WHILE EN ROUTE TO KIGALI AND THE ARUSHA III. HE MET WITH CATHERINE BOIVINEAU, THE QUAI'S DIRECTOR FOR EAST AND CENTRAL AFRICA ON SEPTEMBER 3 TO BRIEF HER ON THE GENERAL PRINCIPLES (REF A) THAT WILL SERVE AS A POINT OF DEPARTURE IN THE UPCOMING ROUND OF TALKS. ALSO ATTENDING FROM THE FRENCH SIDE WAS FRANCOIS-XAVIER GENDREAU, A FORMER AMBASSADOR TO CHAD, WHO WILL BE A MEMBER OF THE GOF DELEGATION AT ARUSHA III.

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PAGE 03 PARIS 24435 01 OF 03 041237Z

4. RAWSON STRESSED THAT THESE POINTS WERE NOT INTENDED TO SERVE AS A FRAMEWORK FOR THE NEGOTIATIONS BUT RATHER AS A SET OF IDEAS THAT COULD BE USEFUL TO THE RPF, THE GOR AND THIRD PARTIES. HE EXPLAINED THAT OUR IDEAS WERE BASED ON LESSONS WE HAD LEARNED IN SIMILAR SITUATIONS ELSEWHERE IN AFRICA. WE PARTICULARLY WANTED TO HAVE FRENCH VIEWS ON HOW THESE IDEAS MIGHT WORK OUT IN THE RWANDAN CONTEXT.

5. RAWSON'S KEY POINT WAS THAT THE JOINT POLITICAL MILITARY COMMITTEE (JPMC) TASKS COULD BE EXPANDED TO INCLUDE OVERSIGHT OF THE TRANSITIONAL PROCESS, INCLUDING POLITICAL FUNCTIONS NEXT UNDER DISCUSSION IN ARUSHA. SINCE BOTH SIDES HAVE ALREADY AGREED TO THE CREATION OF JPMC, IT MIGHT PROVE EASIER TO GIVE IT WIDER RESPONSIBILITIES RATHER THAN REACH AGREEMENT FOR ANOTHER BODY. VALORIZATION OF THE JPMC WOULD ALLOW BOTH SIDES TO SAVE FACE BY CLAIMING A PARTIAL VICTORY.

A POSITIVE INITIAL RESPONSE

6. BOIVINEAU IMMEDIATELY AGREED, ON A PERSONAL BASIS, THAT IT COULD PROVE VERY VALUABLE TO HAVE THE JPMC PLAY

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A WIDER AND MORE VARIED ROLE. SHE SUGGESTED THAT A NUMBER OF SUB-COMMITTEES COULD BE CREATED TO HANDLE SPECIFIC TASKS SINCE THE JPMC WILL PRESUMABLY HAVE MUCH TO DO IN OVERSEEING THE CEASE FIRE. GENDREAU SECONDED THE IDEA AND ADDED THAT IT WOULD BE ESSENTIAL THAT THE JPMC (WHICH BARELY EXISTS AT THIS TIME) BE MOVED AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE TO KIGALI.

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PAGE 04 PARIS 24435 01 OF 03 041237Z

1.4(B), 1.4(D)

SHE NOTED THAT THE RPF MUST
BE BROUGHT TO WORK WITHIN THE ONGOING POLITICAL REFORM

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PAGE 01 PARIS 24435 02 OF 03 041238Z
ACTION EUR-01

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PAGE 02 PARIS 24435 02 OF 03 041238Z
EFFORTS (WHICH HAVE WON LEGITIMACY FROM THE INTERNAL
PARTIES), RATHER THAN ATTEMPTING TO START OVER FROM
SCRATCH.

THE JPMC AND THE EXISTING POLITICAL REFORM PROCESS

8. BOIVINEAU QUESTIONED HOW THE ADDED RESPONSIBILITIES
OF THE JPMC WOULD MESH WITH THE EXISTING CONSTITUTIONAL
POWERS OF THE PRESIDENT (PARTICULARLY REGARDING THE
ARMY) AND GOVERNMENT. WE RESPONDED THAT SINCE THE GOR
IS VERY RESISTANT TO CHANGING OR SETTING ASIDE ANY PART
OF THE EXISTING CONSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS, THE
PRESIDENT WOULD HAVE TO AGREE TO DELEGATE (OR PERHAPS
SIMPLY NOT EXERCISE) A PART OF HIS CONSTITUTIONAL ROLE
-- ALLOWING IT TO BE PERFORMED BY AN EXTRA-GOVERNMENTAL
BODY.

9. GENDREAU SUGGESTED THE POSSIBILITY OF HAVING A
COMMISSION THAT WOULD PROMULGATE, IN THE INTERIM
PERIOD, LEGISLATION PASSED BY THE CND, [REDACTED]

1.4(B), 1.4(D)

[REDACTED] WHILE THE GOF IDEA IS NOT YET FULLY

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FLESHED-OUT, OUR SUGGESTION FOR THE JPMC GOES IN THE
SAME DIRECTION.

IS CODESA ANOTHER MODEL?

10. BOIVINEAU AND GENDREAU SEEMED GENUINELY PLEASED BY
THE US THOUGHTS ON THE JPMC, AS WELL AS A SUGGESTION
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PAGE 03 PARIS 24435 02 OF 03 041238Z
THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN CODESA PROCESS COULD SERVE AS A
MODEL FOR TRANSITION PLANNING. SHE NOTED THAT OUR
CONCEPT OF HAVING SMALL INTEGRATED REACTION TEAMS TO
RESPOND TO SECURITYTHREATS ACCORDED WITH THEIR SUPPORT
FOR PROGRESSIVE PRACTICAL STEPS IN THE INTEGRATION OF
THE MILITARY FORCES. BOIVINEAU ADDED THAT SHE WOULD
RAISE U.S. SUGGESTIONS DURING THE GOF PLANNING MEETING
SCHEDULED TO TAKE PLACE LATER IN THE DAY.

TALKS WITH THE RPF

11. THE RPF DELEGATION, HEADED BY CHAIRMAN KANYARENGWE
ARRIVED IN PARIS ON SEPTEMBER 3, -- 18 HOURS LATE.
RAWSON MET WITH CHAIRMAN KANYARENGWE AND HIS TWO AIDES
FOR TWO HOURS ON THURSDAY EVENING AND PRESENTED THE USG
IDEAS ON THE JPMC.

THE JPMC AND THE POWERS OF THE PRESIDENT

12. KANYARENGWE EXPRESSED NO DIFFICULTY WITH THE IDEA
OF HAVING THE JPMC TAKE ON BROADENED TASKS, INCLUDING A
ROLE IN THE TRANSITIONAL PROCESS AND PERHAPS SOME
POLITICAL FUNCTIONS. HE ALSO AGREED THAT A NUMBER OF
SUB-COMMISSIONS TO DEAL WITH SPECIFIC QUESTIONS (I.E.
REINTEGRATION OF REFUGEES, THE ECONOMY, LOCAL AND
REGIONAL POWERS) WOULD BE USEFUL.

13. HOWEVER, KANYARENGWE REPEATED ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS
HIS DEEP DISTRUST OF PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA AND THE
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PAGE 04 PARIS 24435 02 OF 03 041238Z
POLITICIANS AND MILITARY LEADERS AROUND HIM.
KANYARENGWE DOUBTS THAT A TRANSITION PROCESS CAN BE
SUCCESSFUL UNLESS THE POWERS OF THE PRESIDENT ARE
GREATLY REDUCED OR RESTRICTED. TO ACCOMPLISH THIS, HE
CITED THE NEED FOR SOME SORT OF "SUPREME NATIONAL
COUNCIL" THAT WOULD SHARE RESPONSIBILITY WITH THE
PRESIDENT DURING A TRANSITION PROCESS. THE PRESIDENT

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PAGE 02 PARIS 24435 03 OF 03 041238Z
WOULD RETAIN SOME INDEPENDENT POWERS, BUT NOT ANY THAT
WOULD ENABLE HIM TO DERAIL THE DEMOCRATIC REFORM
PROCESS. KARAGAWYNE STRESSED THE NEED TO CHANGE OR SET
ASIDE ARTICLES OF THE CONSTITUTION DURING THE
TRANSITION PERIOD IN ORDER TO LIMIT THE PRESIDENT'S
POWER.

CREATING A NEW NATIONAL ARMY

14. KANYARENGWE STATED THAT HE BELIEVES THE FUSION OF
THE RPF AND FAR WOULD BE AN EXTREMELY SENSITIVE AND
DIFFICULT JOB -- ESPECIALLY REACHING AGREEMENT ON THE
SIZE OF AN INTEGRATED ARMY. HE RECOGNIZES THE NEED FOR
TECHNICAL ADVICE AND ASSISTANCE IF FUSION IS TO WORK
WELL. WE OFFERED SOME EXAMPLES OF HOW THIS HAS BEEN
DONE ELSEWHERE IN AFRICA AND WHICH COUNTRIES HAVE
PROVIDED ASSISTANCE. KARAGAWYNE EMPHASIZED THE RPF
DOES NOT WISH TO BURDEN RWANDA WITH A NATIONAL ARMY
BEYOND ITS MEANS TO SUPPORT. IT WILL BE ESSENTIAL, HE
STRESSED, THAT RETRAINING AND ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITIES BE
OFFERED TO DEMOBILIZED SOLDIERS FROM BOTH SIDES -- LEST
THEY BECOME AN ARMED MENACE TO RWANDA AND ITS NEIGHBORS.

NEW SOCIAL STRUCTURES FROM THE BOTTOM UP

15. THE RPF BELIEVES THAT MUCH OF THE ETHNIC TENSION
THAT HAS PLAGUED RWANDA HAS COME AS A RESULT OF
INCITATION BY HABYARIMANA'S GOVERNMENT. KARAGAWYNE
EMPHASIZED THE NEED TO INTRODUCE CHANGES IN THE

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PAGE 03 PARIS 24435 03 OF 03 041238Z
POLITICAL AND SOCIAL STRUCTURES AT THE BASE OF
SOCIETY. IT IS, HE STATED, THE PEASANTRY FROM ALL
ETHNIC GROUPS WHICH HAS SUFFERED FROM THE WAR AND
ETHNIC VIOLENCE OVER THE YEARS. A NEW GOVERNMENT MUST
MAKE A SPECIAL EFFORT TO GET THE PEASANTS ENGAGED IN
THE REFORM PROCESS AND GIVE THEM MORE OF A STAKE IN
SOCIETY.

16. BEFORE LEAVING PARIS RAWSON CLEARED THE PORTION OF
THIS MESSAGE DEALING WITH DISCUSSIONS AT THE QUAI.

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